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PAGE 01 STATE 168728

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FOLLOWING REPEAT BUCHAREST 3340 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BELGRADE
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SUBJ: JULY PARTY PLENUM: ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY. AT PARTY PLENUM JULY 29-29 CEAUSESCU SET
STAGE FOR ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS (NOW FIXED FOR
NOVEMBER 25) BY UNVEILING DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM, ECONOMIC
PLAN FOR 1975, DRAFT 1976-80 PLAN DIRECTIVES, AND 1981-90
GUIDELINES (ANALYSES BY SEPTTEL WHEN PUBLISHED). PLENUM
ENDORSED ALL ABOVE DOCUMENTS FOR PARTY DEBATE AND PARTY
CONGRESS ENACTMENT, AND ADOPTED CONGRESS AGENDA AND NEW
PARTY ELECTION CRITERIA. JUDGING FROM SPEECHES OF
CEAUSESCU AND OTHER PLENUM SPEAKERS, THERE GENERALLY WILL
BE "MORE OF SAME" POLICY -- ROMANIAN INDUSTRIAL
EXPANSION AT RAPID PACE AT CONTINUED CONSUMER'S EXPENSE,
DOGGED EFFORTS TO INSPIRE AND MOBILIZE POPULACE THROUGH
CEAUSESCU'S PERSONALITY CULT AND DOMESTIC DISCIPLINE
COMBINED WITH EVENTUAL HOPES FOR BETTER LIFE, AND FURTHER
IDEOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF DISTINCT ROMANIAN PATH WITHIN
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PAGE 02 STATE 168728

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. HOWEVER, CEAUSESCU'S HIGHLIGHT-

ING OF "RADICAL TRANSFORMATION" OF "ENTIRE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY" THROUGH "QUALITATIVE AND TECHNOLOGICAL UPGRADING" ALSO REFLECTS REALIZATION OF CHRONIC FLAWS IN FORCED-DRAFT INDUSTRIALIZATION AND RECOGNITION OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH PAINS.

2. PLENUM NAMED IOSIF UGLAR A PARTY SECRETARY, AND MINISTER OF INTERIOR EMIL BOBU CANDIDATE MEMBER OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, BUT NO MAJOR PERSONNEL CHANGES OCCURRED, LEAVING OPEN POSSIBILITY OF ANTICIPATED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OVERHAUL AT LATER PLENUM OR AT PARTY CONGRESS ITSELF. EFFECT OF PLENUM'S DECISIONS ON PARTY ELECTIONS MAY BE TO GIVE CEAUSESCU FREER HAND IN RESHUFFLING CC AND LESSER PARTY ECHELONS THIS FALL. END SUMMARY.

3. FEW INNOVATIONS WERE DETECTABLE IN CEAUSESCU'S SUMMARY OF DRAFT PARTY IDEOLOGICAL PROGRAM IN HIS PLENUM SPEECH. PENDING ANALYSIS OF FULL TEXT WHEN AVAILABLE, PROGRAM WOULD APPEAR TO BE BULKY HISTORICAL DEPICTION OF RCP AS LEGITIMATE HEIR TO ROMANIAN NATIONAL TRADITION AND ELABORATE IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF RCP'S PARTICULARIST DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL COURSE UNDER CEAUSESCU COUCHED IN PONDEROUS MARXIST-LENINIST TERMS PERHAPS AS MUCH FOR SOVIET AS FOR ROMANIAN EARS. PLENUM PUT STRESS ON PROGRAM'S "CREATIVE APPLICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY TO ROMANIAN CIRCUMSTANCES," A FAVORITE GOR THERE, WHILE SPEAKERS, CALLING PROGRAM ROMANIA'S "IDEOLOGICAL CHARTER," WERE NOT BASHFUL ABOUT NOTING THAT IT WOULD HAVE IMPACT ON WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AS WELL.

4. INTERESTING, BUT NOT COMPLETELY SURPRISING IN THE LIGHT OF THE ATTENTION GIVEN IN TITO VISIT COMMUNIQUE TO THE NATIONAL MINORITY QUESTION WAS LENGTH AT WHICH CEAUSESCU AND OTHERS SWELLED ON ITS ALLEGEDLY SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION IN ROMANIA. THIS NO DOUBT SIGNALS CONTINUING SENSITIVITY PRIMARILY OVER TRANSYLVANIAN HUNGARIANS, WHILE CEAUSESCU'S PHRASING CENTERED ON INCREASING HOMOGENEITY OF WORKING CLASS, UGLAR, AN ETHNIC HUNGARIAN, SEEMED TO REASSURE MAGYAR-SPEAKERS THAT NATIONAL FLSTINCTIONS NEED NOT BE LOST IN PROCESS.

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PAGE 03 STATE 168728

5. CEAUSESCU'S PLENUM DEFENSE OF CONTINUED HIGH RATE OF INVESTMENT AS AGAINST OPTION OF GREATER PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL INCOME FOR CONSUMPTION WAS PARTICULARLY STRIKING. A MAJOR QUESTION BEHIND NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN IS HOW LONG ROMANIAN MAN-IN-STREET WILL SUFFER RELATIVE AUSTERITY AS "GENERATION OF SACRIFICE" FOR FUTURE INDUSTRIAL BASE. CEAUSESCU ARGUED THAT AS PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL INCOME,

CONSUMPTION HAS ACTUALLY RISEN ALONG WITH INVESTMENT IN POST-WAR ROMANIAN HISTORY.

6. HOWEVER, CEAUSESCU SAID "THE CENTRAL PROBLEM" OF 1976-80 PLAN WAS TO ENSURE "RADICAL TRANSFORMATION, ON MODERN BASE, OF OUR ENTIRE INDUSTRY, THE QUALITATIVE AND TECHNOLOGICAL UPGRADING OF THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY." CEAUSESCU ALSO HIGHLIGHTED ANCILLARY PROBLEMS OF CREATING MORE HIGHLY SKILLED LABOR FORCE AND INTENSIFYING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. THIS COULD BE SIGNAL OF FORTHCOMING SIGNIFICANT CHANGE OF EMPHASIS; IT AT LEAST REFLECTS OFFICIAL RECOGNITION THAT BURGEONING INDUSTRIALIZATION IS NO COMPLETE PANACEA AS LONG AS EXPANDING CAPITAL STRUCTURES CHRONIC FLAWS -- SLIPSHOD QUALITY, FREQUENT ACCIDENTS, NEGLIGENCE, LOWSKILLED LABOR, DELAYS IN INTRODUCING ACQUIRED TECHNOLOGY (ADDED TO UNFORESEEN PRESSURES FROM OUTSIDE WORLD ECONOMY AS RESULT OF CEAUSESCU'S INTERNATIONALIST ECONOMIC POLICIES) -- LIMIT ITS POTENTIAL, AND REALIZATION OF PROBLEMS INHERENT IN EXPANDING SCALE OF INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE. POSSIBILITIES FOR US TRADE EXPANSION COULD FLOW FROM SUCH A "TRANSFORMATION."

UM CEAUSESCU'S PERSONALITY CULT AT PLENUM WAS UNDIMINISHED. PRIME MINISTER MANESCU, SECONDED BY OTHERS, PROPOSED CEAUSESCU'S ROLE IN PREPARING PROGRAM BE DULY RECORDED IN ITS PREAMBLE (HE CHAIRED DRAFTING COMMISSION SINCE 1972). MOST EFFUSIVE HOMAGE TO CEAUSESCU AS FOUNDER OF ROMANIA'S IDEOLOGICAL LINE CAME FROM PARTY IDEOLOGICAL SECRETARY BURTICA, ALTHOUGH SUCEAVA FIRST SECRETARY MIU DOBRESCU'S USE OF TERM "CEAUSESCU DOCTRINE" TO DESCRIBE GAMUT OF ROMANIAN POLICIES IS THOUGHT TO BE A FIRST. (AT MAMAIA SONG FESTIVAL FEW DAYS EARLIER "HOMAGE," A POP PAEAN TO CEAUSESCU, WON TOP HONORS.) VIRGIL TROFIN, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 STATE 168728

ONETIME PERMANENT PRESIDUM MEMBER OF TOP LEADERSHIP DEMOTED THIS SPRING TO FIRST SECRETARY IN BRASOV, WAS CONSPICUOUSLY THE ONLY PLENUM SPEAKER TO FAIL TO MENTION CEAUSESCU AT ALL. TROFIN ALSO WAS ALONE (EXCEPT FOR CEAUSESCU) IN STRESSING NEED TO DEBATE PROGRAM WIDELY.

8. IN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO FIRE WHICH GUTTED PART OF BRASOV TRUCK PLANT AS RESULT OF SUSPECTED WORKER SABOTAGE, TROFIN NOTED MEASURES BRASOV LEADERSHIP HAD TAKEN TO "STRENGTHEN TECHNOLOGICAL AND PRODUCTION DISCIPLINE AND ORDER" AS WELL AS TO "RESOLVE CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL NATURE, HOUSING OF BACHELOR YOUTH."

9. NEWLY ELECTED PARTY SECRETARY UGLAR, ALREADY A PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CANDIDATE MEMBER, WILL NOW PRE-

SUMABLY HANDLE NATIONALITIES AND PERHAPS SOME MASS ORGANIZATION MATTERS. HE WAS FORMERLY FIRST SECRETARY IN SATU MARE JUDET, HEAVILY POPULATED WITH HUNGARIANS, BEFORE BEING TRANSFERRED TO BUCHAREST IN JUNE AS PRESIDENT OF COMMITTEE FOR PROBLEMS OF PEOPLES COUNCILS; ATYPICALLY, TWO OF SEVEN PARTY SECRETARIES, UGLAR AND GERE, NOW ARE HUNGARIANS, AND GERE THEREFORE COULD BE HEADED FOR DOWNGRADING IN DUE COURSE. MINISTER OF INTERIOR BOBU'S ELEVATION TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SEEMINGLY REGULARIZES RANK OF THIS IMPORTANT MINISTRY. SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT AMONG SPEAKERS AT PLENUM WAS IOAN FORIS, SON OF STEFAN FORIS (RCP SECRETARY GENERAL 1940-44 EXECUTED IN MURKY 1946 INTRA-PARTY INTRIGUES AND HISTORICALLY REHABILITATED BY CEAUSESCU) WHO IS UGLAR'S REPLACEMENT IN SATU MARE.

10. IN SPHERE OF PARTY RULES, SEVERAL PLENUM DECISIONS WOULD SEEM TO MAKE FOR GREATER FLUIDITY IN MEMBERSHIP OF PARTY ORGANS THIS FALL AND POINT, AT LEAST ON PAPER, AT ATTEMPT TO INFUSE GREATER MILITANCY. PLENUM ADOPTED NEW "CRITERIA" FOR PARTY ORGANS WHICH TO OUR KNOWLEDGE DID NOT EXIST BEFORE. THEY REQUIRE ONE-THIRD TURNOVER (INCLUDING CENTRAL COMMITTEE) WHICH, IF APPLIED TO CC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WOULD LEND CEAUSESCU PAINLESS PRETEXT TO UNDERTAKE ITS LONG ANTICIPATED OVERHAUL AT CONGRESS. "CRITERIA" ALSO SET EXPLICIT STANDARDS FOR REQUIRED LENGTH OF PARTY SERVICE, EDUCATION AND ACTIVISM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 05 STATE 168728

BEFORE ELECTION, AND SET SHORTER TIME REQUIREMENTS FOR OFFICIALS OF COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION (FROM WHENCE CEAUSESCU HAS DRAWN MUCH OF HIS EMERGENT LEADERSHIP TEAM). EDICT TO ENSURE "BETTER" PROVINCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL-CITY REPRESENTATION IN CC IS IN SAME VEIN. PLENUM RESOLVED THAT JUDETS PARTY CONFERENCES WILL NOW PROPOSE "A LARGER NUMBER OF CANDIDATES THAN THAT WHICH WILL BE ELECTED" TO THE CC, THUS APPLYING THE "MORE THAN ONE CANDIDATE TO A POSITION" RULE TAKEN UP EARLIER FOR GNA PARLIAMENTARY SEATS. IT IS HARD TO SAY HOW LIKELY THIS IS TO ENCOURAGE GREATER PRTY DEMOCRACY AND MAY MEAN ONLY THAT CEAUSESCU AND CENTRAL PARTY HENCHMEN WANT WIDER ALTERNATIVES IN CHOOSING CC MEMBERS NOMINATED FROM SOMETIMES ENTRENCHED LOCAL FIEFDOMS. PLENUM ALSO IMPOSED QUOTAS FOR WOMEN (20 PERCENT) AND NATIONAL MINORITIES ("APPROPRIATE NUMBER") ON PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANS. CEAUSESCU'S PURITANICAL SIDE AS WELL AS OCCASIONAL PROVATE MORAL LAPSES WITHIN GOR ELITE SEEM REFLECTED IN DETAILED NEW ETHICAL "CRITERIA" FOR PARTY ORGAN MEMBERS, IN PARTICULAR ONE MAKING THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR FAMILY'S BLEMISH-FREE COMPORTMENT AS WELL AS THEIR OWN.

11. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN LEARNING FROM ADDRESSEE
POSTS IN OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHETHER COMPARABLE
FORMAL "CRITERIA" EXIST IN RULING PARTIES THERE AS WELL.
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